THE WILSON QUARTERLY WINTER 1976

A NATIONAL REVIEW
OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

THE WILSON QUARTERLY WINTER 1976

VOLUME I NUMBER 1

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS
Smithsonian Institution Building Washington, D.C. 20560

Published quarterly by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20560. *Subscription for Smithsonian Associates: one year $10; two years $18; three years $26. Non-member rates: one year $12; two years $22; three years $31. Foreign subscriptions, add $1 postage per year. Single copies, available upon request, $4; outside U.S. and possessions $4.25. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. Editorial offices, Smithsonian Institution Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20560.*

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QUARTERLY

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READER'S GUIDE I

PERIODICALS

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

How Important Is TV?

"The Impact of Broadcast Campaigning on Electoral Outcomes" by Gary C. Jacobson, Trinity College, in *The Journal of Politics*, Aug. '75, ($10; Southern Political Science Assn., 107 Peabody Hall, Univ. of Fla., Gainesville, Fla. 32611).

According to Jacobson, the impact of campaign spending for political "commercials" on radio and television varies; it seems least important in Presidential elections where the candidates are already well-known via regular news coverage. And in elections for U.S. Senators and Representatives, "incumbency" is far more important than TV. But TV can be important. Only 21 of the 752 incumbents in House races in 1970 and 1972 lost; however, 14 of these losers were outspent on TV and radio by their foes. Only 13 of 77 incumbent U.S. Senators lost in 1970 and 1972, but of these, nine lost to challengers who spent more on broadcasting. New Federal curbs on campaign spending, Jacobson concludes, work to the benefit of politicians already in office.

Women and Politics

"Working Women and Political Participation, 1952-72" by Kristi Andersen, Ohio State U., in *American Journal of Political Science*, Aug. '75 ($4 an issue; $15 a year; Wayne State U. Press, 5980 Cass Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48202).

Differences between American women and men in "political participation" (voting, working for a party, attending rallies, displaying bumper stickers, contributing money to a candidate) have narrowed in the past twenty years, Andersen finds. Indeed, Survey Research Center election studies show that one growing group of women—those working full time outside the home—now is as politically active as the menfolk. These

DEFENSE & FOREIGN POLICY

The Arms Race

"Optimal Ways to Confuse Ourselves" by Albert Wohlstetter, University of Chicago political scientist, in *Foreign Policy*, Fall '75, ($12; 155 Allen Blvd., Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735).

Concluding a lengthy *Foreign Policy* debate-in-print on "the myths and realities of the arms race," Wohlstetter rebuts those who argue that Soviet strength has been exaggerated, that "worst case" analysis and a desire for fancier weaponry drive U.S. spending upward, which in turn drives the Russians to react. In fact, he finds, the net effect of major U.S. innovations in rockets, warheads, and guidance was to reduce their costs, indiscriminate destructiveness, and vulnerability to attack. The Pentagon's annual strategic program budgets, in real (constant dollar) terms, have declined since the end of the 1950's from a level 350% greater than at present. Moreover, since the early 1960's, far from exaggerating the Soviet missile effort, successive Defense Secretaries have systematically predicted smaller Soviet missile deployments than have actually taken place; Moscow has steadily increased both its strategic budgets and the number of its new missile systems. By 1971, Moscow had the lead in *numbers* of intercontinental ballistic missiles and was on its way to getting 50% more. Wohlstetter does not offer any blueprint for U.S. defense and arms control policy; his focus is on "dogmas" that now afflict policy debate. "If we can't get our recent past straight," he says, "we can hardly hope to discern alternative futures."

Nations And Weapons

"The Urge to Compete: Rationales for Arms Racing" by Colin S. Gray, Fellow at King's College, London Univ., in *World Politics*, Jan. '74, ($9; Princeton U. Press, Princeton, N.J. 08540).

Too often, writes Gray, those who favor arms control tend to deny any legitmacy to nations' rationales for weapons competition. Now, as in the past, various states may compete for purposes of deterrence, defense, gaining diplomatic power and international status, satisfying "vested interests," or because technology offers no alternative (better an arms race than a nuclear war). Gray argues that policy makers must understand the positive as well as the more obvious negative consequences of arms races for international stability.

Among possible "positive" results, Gray argues, an arms race may "buy time" for peaceful settlements of disputes; it may discourage one ambitious nation's quest for local or global hegemony; it may prevent any individual country from exploiting a temporary advantage in weaponry to the others' detriment. Technology has long been "unduly regarded as the (sole) villain," when other "driving impulses" shape armaments policy. In any case, arms races should not be analyzed as an atypical feature of world politics.

The American Revolution

With the Bicentennial, Americans have been bombarded with popular history, ranging from 30-second vignettes on television to *Time*'s special Thomas Jefferson issue. Most of this has focused on personalities and drama: the Boston Tea Party, the Battle of Concord, the signing of the Declaration of Independence, George Washington at Valley Forge, the framing of the Constitution. In contrast, scholars have long been revising their views of *why* the American Revolution began and evolved as it did. They have drawn on a steadily widening range of sources and analysis. Their interpretations vary. Here, in three new essays by Woodrow Wilson Fellows, major aspects of the Revolution are reexamined: the rebellion itself, the early debate in Virginia over a Bill of Rights, and the ideas and intentions of the men who made the Constitution.

WHY DID THE REBELLION OCCUR?

by Jack P. Greene

Two hundred years after the event, historians still do not have a clear answer to the great question of why, after a decade of relatively tempered and largely peaceful protest against certain specific measures and policies of Great Britain, the American colonists suddenly took up arms, and rejected any further political association with the mother state. To put it more specifically, what transformed the cautious defiance exhibited by the First Continental Congress in 1774 into the intense militancy of mid-1775 and the bitter revulsion against Britain during the first half of 1776?

There is, of course, a simple and obvious answer: rebellion came with the determination of the British government to use force to secure colonial obedience and the consequent outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775.

But this answer only raises larger questions: Why did the British reach a determination to use force? Why did the Americans resist it? What gave the Americans any hope that their resistance, against the Western World's strongest power, might actually meet with success?

These questions, in turn, raise still others. But they are not always asked. Great events such as the American Revolution, after they have happened, tend to take on an aura of inevitability. The "logic" of the event becomes so clear, in retrospect, that it is difficult to entertain the possibility that it might not have happened at all. Only by understanding under what conditions the Revolution might *not* have occurred or the related question of why it did not occur *earlier* can we ever hope to understand how political protest escalated in 1775 into armed rebellion and political revolution.

"Duty, Love, and Gratitude"

Any satisfactory examination of the great events of 1774-76, must go back at least two decades to consider the nature of the bond that had held Britain and the Colonies together for more than 150 years. Four quotations illustrate the relationship.

The first dates from 1757 and is from Governor Thomas Pownall of Massachusetts Bay. Mocking the prediction made increasingly by intellectuals in Britain during the mid-eighteenth century, that "in some future time, the [American] Provinces should become Independent of the Mother Country," Pownall observed:

> "If by becoming Independent is meant a Revolt, nothing is further from their Nature, their Interest, their Thoughts; Their Liberty & Religion is incompatible with French Government, and the only thing that the French could throw as a temptation in their way, namely, a *Free Port* is no more than they do enjoy now as their Trade is at present Circumstanced. They could hope for no Protection under a Dutch Government, and a Spanish could give them neither the one nor the Other."

If, on the other hand, Pownall continued, "a Defection from the Alliance of the Mother Country be suggested, That their Spirit abhorrs, Their Attachment to the Alliance of the Mother Country is inviolable, Their Attachment to the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover will ever Stand unshaken, *Nothing can eradicate these Attachments from their*

CHRONOLOGY PRELUDE TO REBELLION

1748-1756 Beginnings of program of imperial regulation of the Colonies by British officials.

1756-1763 Britain's Seven Years' War against France and Spain ("French and Indian War" in North America); ended with fall of Quebec.

1764-1766 Crisis over the Stamp Act and other measures of the Granville Program to strengthen royal control over the Colonies.

1767-1770 Crisis over the Townshend Acts, which levied special import taxes on the Colonies.

1770-1773 Townshend Acts partially repealed. Period of quiet.

1773-1775 Crisis over the Tea Act (1773) and the Coercive ("Intolerable") Acts (1774). First Continental Congress meets.

1775-1776 Outbreak of war at Concord and Lexington in April 1775 and the development of the movement for independence, culminating in the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776.

Hearts." Besides, he added, on a practical note, "the Merchants are and must ever be in great measure allied with those of G. Britain; Their Very Support consists in this Alliance."

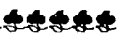
The second quotation is from Thomas Barnard, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Salem, Massachusetts. In a sermon celebrating the conclusion of Britain's Seven Years' War against France and Spain in 1763, Barnard declared:

> "Now commences the Aera of our quiet Enjoyment of those Liberties, which our Fathers Purchased with the Toil of their whole Lives, their Treasure, their Blood. Safe from the Enemy of the Wilderness [the Indians], safe from the griping Hand of arbitrary Sway and cruel Superstition [the French]; Here shall be the late founded Seat of Peace and Freedom. Here shall our indulgent Mother [Britain], who has most generously rescued and protected us, be served and honoured by growing Numbers, with all Duty, Love and Gratitude, till Time shall be no more. . ."

The third quotation is from Daniel Leonard, the articulate Massachusetts loyalist and lawyer. Writing on the very eve of the outbreak of war in the Colonies in 1775, Leonard surveyed the crisis.

READER'S GUIDE II BACKGROUND BOOKS

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. 10 vols. Little, Brown, 1834-75. L of C E-178. B22 (Abridged edition, edited by Russel B. Nye, University of Chicago Press, 1966, cloth and paper)
ISBN 0-226-03645-6 and 46-4

The founding father of American history traces the pre-Revolutionary years (Vol. I) and what he saw as the four epochs of the Revolution from the changes in the colonial system (1748-63), through "how Great Britain estranged America," to "The Crisis" and the war itself. Idealized and written, of course, without benefit of many later sources and insights but important and eminently readable.

DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Henry Steele Commager. 2 vols. Appleton-Century-Crofts, 9th ed., 1974. Cloth and paper.
L of C E.173 C66
ISBN 0-13-217000-0 and 18-3

Probably the next best thing to having your own Archives. The original documents, with Commager's commentary, may usefully be read again in reading anything written by anybody else on the Revolution.

SEEDTIME OF THE REPUBLIC. By Clinton Rossiter. 558 pages. Harcourt, Brace, 1953.
L of C 53-5674
ISBN 0-15-180111-8

A long but engrossing book covering the growth of ideas of liberty in the American colonies, notable thinkers of the colonial period, and political theories significant in 1765-66. Called by the *New Yorker* "a brilliant example of creative scholarship."

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Charles A. Beard. 330 pages. Macmillan, 1913.
L of C 13-93-14

Regularly reprinted, the noted progressive historian's persuasive, and long dominant, view of the Constitution. A worthy book in itself and necessary for understanding the contrary arguments of a more recent group of scholars, represented in this issue by Martin Diamond's essay.

THE STAMP ACT CRISIS: Prologue to Revolution. By Edmund S. Morgan and Helen Morgan. 310 pages. University of North Carolina Press, 1953. (Collier, paper, 1963)
L of C E.215.2.M58

When this readable, narrowly focused book was first published, reviewers hailed it as having a "novel, imaginative approach," as "pleasurable, not merely painless" history, "memorable" for its portraits of "officials who had to enforce acts they themselves opposed." Two decades later, it still seems first-rate.

READER'S GUIDE III NEW BOOKS

FELLOWS' CHOICE

ETHNICITY: Theory and Experience. Edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, with the assistance of Corrine Saposs Schelling. 531 pages. Harvard University Press, 1975. $15
L of C 74-21230
ISBN 0-674-26855-5

Of this highly publicized work, now being read by a WWICS group concerned with ethnicity, Brian Weinstein writes: "This collection of previously unpublished papers is the best of the current outpouring of studies about growing religious, racial, regional, and linguistic movements. Glazer and Moynihan establish ethnicity as a modern social category as important as class and nation; outstanding social scientists develop new theories of origin, change, and conflict that set the agenda for discussions by specialists and nonspecialists from now on; and area scholars treat ethnic influences in Western Europe and America, the new states of the Third World, and the 'old empires' of Russia, China, and India."

TRAINING THE NIHILISTS: Education and Radical Recruitment in Tsarist Russia. By Daniel P. Brower. 248 pages. Cornell University Press, 1975. $12.50
L of C 74-25371
ISBN 0-8014-0874-1

"A detailed exposition," says WWICS Russian Studies Institute's Frederick Starr, "of the process by which certain Russian students, most from upper-middle and upper class homes, rejected their upbringing and family heritage to become 'populist' revolutionaries in the late nineteenth century."

THE UNHINGED ALLIANCE: America and the European Community. By J. Robert Schaetzel. 184 pages. Harper & Row, 1975. $8.95
L of C 74-21230
ISBN 0-674-26855-5

In the early 1970s, economic frictions, exacerbated by what Schaetzel describes as a new American isolationism, became central to U.S.-European relations. What this means for world politics and "why we must act to correct the emerging disaffection" are, according to Harald B. Malmgren, the principal focus of this relatively brief study.

HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW: On Management. By Harper & Row, January, 1976. $15

Techniques for executives in business, industry, and government, in the first book from the pages of the *Review*.

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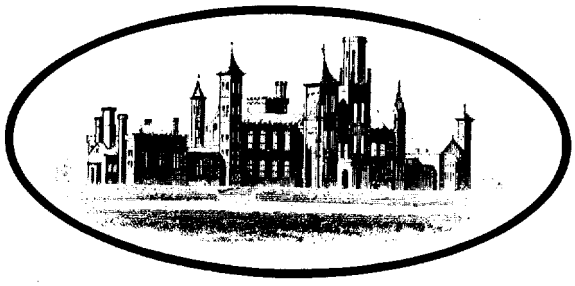

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The Center, which opened in October 1970, was placed in the Smithsonian Institution under the administration of its own Presidentially-appointed board of trustees. Financing is from both public and private sources.

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Approved For Release 2004/10/28 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000300310031-5

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